

# EXHIBIT D

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August 22, 2017

**VIA E-MAIL**

Chairman Richard Burr  
Vice Chairman Mark R. Warner  
c/o Ms. Vanessa Le, Esq.  
Ms. April Doss, Esq.  
Senate Select Committee on Intelligence  
Washington, D.C. 20510

Re: Michael D. Cohen, Esquire

Dear Chairman Burr and Vice Chairman Warner:

I am writing on behalf of my client, Michael Cohen, in connection with the inquiry of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence (the “Committee”) into potential Russian interference in the 2016 U.S. presidential election. We have previously delivered to your offices two document productions and have others in preparation. The Committee included Mr. Cohen in its inquiry based solely upon certain sensational allegations contained in the “Company Intelligence Reports” (the “Dossier”) released to the public in or around January 2017. Absent those allegations, we believe Mr. Cohen would not be involved in your investigation. We now write to address those allegations.

As a preliminary matter, we have not uncovered a single document that would in any way corroborate the Dossier’s allegations regarding Mr. Cohen, nor do we believe that any such document exists. Mr. Cohen vehemently denies the claims made in the Dossier about him, which are false and remain wholly unsubstantiated. We believe the allegations are so profoundly wrong about Mr. Cohen that the Dossier is libelous and any repetition of its allegations by the Committee should be rejected.

Instead, we believe the Committee should discern and publicly disclose the entity or entities that paid for the 35-page Dossier. It should seek all the work papers of the Dossier’s author, MI-6 former intelligence agent, Mr. Christopher Steele. It should consider whether the Dossier was intended to and did impact the election by making totally false allegations about Mr. Cohen and others.

If Mr. Cohen were questioned about the Dossier’s allegations, we believe that he would provide the information set forth below. Mr. Cohen vehemently denies not only the allegations addressed below, but also any and all substantively similar allegations, as well as any summaries of those allegations.

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Vice Chairman Mark R. Warner  
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1. **Allegation (Page 18): “Kremlin insider reports TRUMP lawyer COHEN’s secret meeting/s with Kremlin officials in August 2016 was/were held in Prague”:** Mr. Cohen denies this allegation and it is entirely false. Mr. Cohen has only one passport, which was issued by the U.S. Department of State. Mr. Cohen has never traveled to Prague, Czech Republic, as evidenced by his passport. He did not participate in meetings with Kremlin officials in Prague in August 2016.
2. **Allegation (Page 18): “Rossotrudnichestvo was being used as cover for this relationship and its office in Prague may well have been used to host the COHEN/Russian Presidential Administration (PA) meeting/s.”:** Mr. Cohen denies this allegation and it is entirely false. Mr. Cohen is not familiar with the organization, Rossotrudnichestvo, or its members, nor is he aware of having any dealings with the organization as described. Mr. Cohen has never traveled to Prague, Czech Republic, as evidenced by his passport. He did not meet “officials from the PA Legal Department clandestinely in an EU country in August 2016.”
3. **Allegation (Page 18): “KOSACHEV, also ‘plausibly deniable’ being part of the Russian legislature rather than executive, had facilitated the contact in Prague and by implication, may have attended the meeting/s with COHEN there in August.”:** Mr. Cohen denies this allegation and it is entirely false. Mr. Cohen has never traveled to Prague, Czech Republic, as evidenced by his U.S. passport. He did not participate in meetings of any kind with Kremlin officials in Prague in August 2016. Mr. Cohen does not know Kostantin Kosachev, nor has he ever met with Mr. Kosachev.
4. **Allegation (Page 18): “COHEN met officials from the PA Legal Department clandestinely in an EU country in August 2016. This was in order to clean up the mess left behind by western media revelations of TRUMP ex-campaign manager MANAFORT’s corrupt relationship with the former pro-Russian YANUKOVYCH regime in Ukraine and TRUMP foreign policy advisor, Carter PAGE’s secret meetings in Moscow with senior regime figures in July 2016. According to the Kremlin advisor, these meeting/s were originally scheduled for COHEN in Moscow but shifted to what was considered an operationally ‘soft’ EU country when it was judged too compromising for him to travel to the Russian capital.”:** Mr. Cohen denies this allegation and it is entirely false. Mr. Cohen did not meet “officials from the PA Legal Department clandestinely in an EU country in August 2016.” Mr. Cohen has never traveled to

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Russia, nor was he ever scheduled to travel to Moscow for the purposes described.

5. **Allegation (Page 30): “[A] key role in the secret TRUMP campaign/Kremlin relationship was being played by the Republican candidate’s personal lawyer Michael COHEN.”:** Mr. Cohen denies this allegation and it is entirely false. Mr. Cohen is not aware of any “secret TRUMP campaign/Kremlin relationship.” Mr. Cohen did not play any role in this fictitious relationship.
6. **Allegation (Page 32): “Kremlin insider outlines important role played by TRUMP’s lawyer COHEN in secret liaison with Russian leadership.”:** Mr. Cohen denies this allegation and it is entirely false.
7. **Allegation (Page 32): “COHEN engaged with Russians in trying to cover up scandal of MANAFORT and exposure of PAGE and meets Kremlin officials secretly in the EU in August in pursuit of this goal.”:** Mr. Cohen denies this allegation and it is entirely false. Mr. Cohen did not participate in any secret meetings with Kremlin officials in the European Union in August. Mr. Cohen has never “engaged with Russians” in an attempt to conceal or suppress information about Paul Manafort, Carter Page, or anyone else.
8. **Allegation (Page 32): “[A] Kremlin insider highlighted the importance of Republican presidential candidate Donald TRUMP’s lawyer, Michael COHEN, in the ongoing secret liaison relationship between the New York tycoon’s campaign and the Russian leadership. COHEN’s role had grown following the departure of Paul MANNAFORT as TRUMP’s campaign manager in August 2016.”:** Mr. Cohen denies this allegation and it is entirely false. Mr. Cohen is not aware of any “ongoing secret liaison relationship” between the Trump campaign and “Russian leadership,” nor did he play any role in such a relationship.
9. **Allegation (Page 32): “COHEN now was heavily engaged in a cover up and damage limitation operation in the attempt to prevent the full details of TRUMP’s relationship with Russia being exposed.”:** Mr. Cohen denies this allegation and it is entirely false. Mr. Cohen is not aware of any impropriety relating to Mr. Trump’s “relationship” with Russia, nor is he aware of Mr. Trump having any improper political relationship with officials of the Russian Federation. Accordingly, Mr. Cohen has taken no action whatsoever to “cover up” any aspect of Mr. Trump’s dealings in Russia.

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10. **Allegation (Page 33): “Things had become even ‘hotter’ since August on the TRUMP-Russia track. According to the Kremlin insider, this had meant that direct contact between the TRUMP team and Russia had been farmed out by the Kremlin to trusted agents of influence working in pro-government policy institutes like that of Law and Comparative Jurisprudence. COHEN however continued to lead for the TRUMP team.”:** Mr. Cohen denies this allegation and it is entirely false. Mr. Cohen is not aware of any indirect communications between the “TRUMP team” and “trusted agents” of the Kremlin. Mr. Cohen did not play any role in such communications.
11. **Allegation (Page 34): “TRUMP’s representative COHEN accompanied to Prague in August/September 2016 by 3 colleagues for secret discussions with Kremlin representatives and associated operators/hackers”:** Mr. Cohen denies this allegation and it is entirely false. Mr. Cohen has never traveled to Prague, Czech Republic, as evidenced by his passport. Mr. Cohen did not participate in discussions of any kind (secret or otherwise) with “Kremlin representatives and associated operators/hackers” in August or September 2016.
12. **Allegation (Page 34): “COHEN had been accompanied to Prague by 3 colleagues and the timing of the visit was either in the last week of August or the first week of September. One of their main Russian interlocutors was Oleg SOLODUKHIN operating under Rossotrudnichestvo cover.”:** Mr. Cohen denies this allegation and it is entirely false. Mr. Cohen has never traveled to Prague, Czech Republic, as evidenced by his passport. Mr. Cohen is not familiar with the organization, Rossotrudnichestvo, or its members, nor is he aware of having any dealings with the organization as described. Mr. Cohen does not know Oleg Solodukhin, nor has he ever met with Mr. Solodukhin.
13. **Allegation (Page 35): “In Prague, COHEN agreed contingency plans for various scenarios to protect the operation, but in particular what was to be done in the event that Hillary CLINTON won the presidency.”:** Mr. Cohen denies this allegation and it is entirely false. Mr. Cohen has never traveled to Prague, Czech Republic, as evidenced by his passport. Mr. Cohen was not part of any “operation,” nor did he ever discuss or agree to plans of the type described.

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In an egregious attempt to link Mr. Cohen to an imagined scheme, the Dossier states, “COHEN’s wife is of Russian descent and her father a leading property developer in Moscow.” Mr. Cohen denies the implication of this statement, which is both offensive and patently absurd. Mr. Cohen’s wife is from the Ukraine and came to the United States when she was five years old. Mr. Cohen’s father-in-law is not a “leading property developer in Moscow,” nor does he own a dacha in Russia. Neither Mr. Cohen nor any member of his family had any involvement in the conduct alleged in the Dossier.

Other sources have also refuted the Dossier’s allegations regarding Mr. Cohen. We have attached a few, representative examples of news articles refuting the Dossier’s allegations:

- Natasha Bertrand, *Explosive memos claim Trump’s lawyer met with Kremlin officials – but he may have been mistaken for a person with the same name*, BUSINESS INSIDER, Jan. 11, 2017, <http://www.businessinsider.com/michael-cohen-trump-2017-1> (“On Wednesday, a US government source told CNN’s Jake Tapper that a different Michael Cohen, not Trump’s lawyer, was in Prague in August and September 2016.”)
- Shane Harris, Devlin Barrett, and Alan Cullison, *Spy Agencies Investigating Claims Trump Advisers Worked With Russian Agents*, THE WALL STREET JOURNAL, Jan. 9, 2017, <http://www.wsj.com/articles/spy-agencies-investigating-claims-trump-advisers-worked-with-russian-agents-1484101731> (“The FBI has found no evidence that [Cohen] traveled to the Czech Republic, where the meeting allegedly took place in August of last year, officials said.”)
- Brian Ross, Matthew Mosk, and Patrick Reevell, *Former British Spy Gathered Unsubstantiated Intel on Trump, Officials Say*, ABC NEWS, Jan. 11, 2017, <http://abcnews.go.com/US/british-spy-gathered-unsubstantiated-intel-trump-officials/story?id=44720601> (“ABC News went to the address linked to the property developer in Moscow identified in the report as Cohen’s father in law. A tenant at the luxury Moscow residence put ABC News in contact with the owner, who said emphatically that he had no connection to Cohen.”)

We do not believe that the Committee should give credence to or perpetuate any of the Dossier’s allegations relating to Mr. Cohen unless the Committee can obtain independent and reliable corroboration of those allegations, which we do not believe exists. Based on Mr. Cohen’s proffered responses to the Dossier’s allegations, we do not believe that an interview concerning these allegations is warranted.

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Please contact me at your earliest convenience at (202) 756-8333 if you have any questions about this submission.

Sincerely,

  
Stephen M. Ryan  
*Counsel for Michael Cohen*

Enclosures

# BUSINESS INSIDER

## Explosive memos claim Trump's lawyer met with Kremlin officials — but he may have been mistaken for a person with the same name



NATASHA BERTRAND  
JAN. 11, 2017, 10:11 AM

Memos authored by a British operative and provided to US intelligence officials about President-elect Donald Trump's ties to Russia claim that Trump's lawyer, Michael Cohen, met secretly with Kremlin officials in Prague in August 2016.

Cohen has dismissed the reports on the memos as "fake news," and accounts corroborating his version of events have surfaced since the material in the memos, which is unverified, was published in full by BuzzFeed on Tuesday.

"Speaking to a compatriot and friend on 19 October 2016, a Kremlin insider provided further details of reported clandestine meeting/s between Republican presidential candidate Donald Trump's lawyer Michael COHEN and Kremlin representatives in August 2016," the dossier reads.

"The Kremlin insider clearly indicated to his/her friend that the reported contact/s took place in Prague, Czech Republic," it said.

The memos claimed that the Trump campaign and the Kremlin had established an "exchange of information" of "mutual benefit" that was in part facilitated by Cohen.

Cohen denied the allegations on Twitter on Tuesday night, shortly after CNN [broke the story](#) that the FBI and the CIA had presented a synopsis of the unidentified British operative's intelligence to Trump last week as part of a classified report.

"I have never been to Prague in my life. #fakenews," Cohen tweeted. He included a photo of his passport.



Michael Cohen, an attorney for President-elect Donald Trump.

*Richard Drew/AP*



**Michael Cohen**

@MichaelCohen212

[Follow](#)

I have never been to Prague in my life. [#fakenews](#)

9:21 PM - Jan 10, 2017

7,802

11,121

31,779

Cohen told [The Atlantic](#) that he was in New York for the better part of August and visited the University of Southern California with his son at the end of the month to check out its baseball team. Their visit on August 29 was corroborated by a person within USC baseball who talked with [The Atlantic](#).

On Wednesday, a US government source told CNN's Jake Tapper that a different Michael Cohen, not Trump's lawyer, was in Prague in August and September 2016.

The memos from the British operative, who is apparently considered legitimate by US intelligence officials, [were compiled in a dossier](#) that has been circulating among journalists and government officials since last year.

# THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

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## Spy Agencies Investigating Claims Trump Advisers Worked With Russian Agents

The unverified allegations—including a claim Russia has material that could be used to blackmail Mr. Trump—were deemed sufficiently significant to brief the president-elect



U.S. President-elect Donald Trump listening to members of the media in the lobby of Trump Tower in New York on Monday. PHOTO:ALBIN LOHR-JONES/PRESS POOL

*By*

[\*Shane Harris,\*](#)

[\*Devlin Barrett\*](#) and

[\*Alan Cullison\*](#)

January 9, 2017

U.S. intelligence agencies and the Federal Bureau of Investigation have spent months trying to substantiate explosive claims, compiled by a former Western intelligence official, that Russian

government operatives engaged in an extensive conspiracy with advisers to Donald Trump's presidential campaign and employees of his company, people familiar with the matter said.

The unverified allegations—including a claim Russia has material that could be used to blackmail Mr. Trump—were deemed sufficiently significant by senior intelligence officials to summarize them in a two-page addendum to the classified briefing President-elect Trump received last Friday about Russian efforts to influence the U.S. presidential campaign, the people said.

"FAKE NEWS - A TOTAL POLITICAL WITCH HUNT!" Mr. Trump tweeted after the allegations surfaced publicly Tuesday evening.

U.S. officials confirmed that a summary of the information had been given to Mr. Trump. They said sharing of such unverified information was taken out of an abundance of caution that the incoming president should be aware of allegations being made against him that could become public—a decision intelligence experts backed. President Barack Obama received the same information, officials said.

The agencies are continuing to investigate the claims, the people familiar with the matter said.

[Russia on Wednesday denied it had compromising material on Mr. Trump](#), calling the report an "absolute fabrication" and an attempt to damage U.S.-Russian relations.

"I can picture how difficult a decision this must have been," former CIA Director Michael Hayden said of the decision to inform Mr. Trump. "But if we had this data, others may have had this data too. And regardless of truth or falsity, I can see why they thought the president-elect should know."

Among the allegations, contained in a set of confidential memos written by the former official, are that Mr. Trump's attorney, Michael Cohen, met with Kremlin officials and discussed how to arrange cash payments to hackers working under Moscow's direction against the presidential campaign of Hillary Clinton. The FBI has found no evidence that he traveled to the Czech Republic, where the meeting allegedly took place in August of last year, officials said.

Mr. Cohen, in an interview, denied any such meeting. He said in an interview Tuesday evening that he had never been contacted by the FBI or any other U.S. agency on these issues. He said Mr. Trump has also not contacted him about them. Mr. Cohen said he previously knew about the allegations because he had been contacted about them by journalists.

The former official who compiled the dossier works for a private investigations company and was hired by both Republicans and Democrats to investigate Mr. Trump, according to one official close to the matter. His reports have circulated for months among law-enforcement and intelligence agencies as well as congressional offices and news outlets, including The Wall Street Journal. While U.S. agencies have been unable to verify the allegations, the former official who produced the report has a long and respected track record among intelligence officials. The Journal hasn't been able to verify the allegations.

The memos, which have been the subject of intense interest, include claims that Russian officials have evidence of Mr. Trump engaging in sexual acts with prostitutes and have held the information in reserve as potential blackmail.

The memos were published in full online Tuesday evening, amid the latest twist in a monthslong feud between the intelligence community and Mr. Trump over the question of whether and why Russia interfered with the U.S. election.

Before last week's briefing, the heads of the intelligence agencies spent hours testifying before the Senate about their evidence, which showed that Russian President Vladimir Putin ordered an extensive hacking campaign and leaks of private emails, principally directed at Democrats, in a bid to help Mr. Trump.

Mr. Trump had expressed skepticism about the claims. After the briefing he received Friday, he toned down his rhetoric and seemed to allow that the Russians had engaged in hacking, though he later added that it was important for the U.S. to maintain good relations with Russia.

Russian officials have repeatedly denied involvement in election-related hacking or trying to influence the U.S. presidential election.

The revelations about the unsubstantiated allegations could complicate a week in which several of Mr. Trump's highest-level cabinet officials face confirmation hearings before the Senate and when Mr. Trump, on Wednesday morning, is scheduled to give his first press conference since July.

Top lawmakers already have inquired publicly about the kinds of issues described in the memos. In a hearing Tuesday with four top intelligence officials, Sen. Ron Wyden (D., Ore.) asked FBI Director James Comey if the bureau had investigated whether individuals close to the Trump campaign have any links to Russians. Mr. Comey declined to answer, saying he couldn't confirm or deny if an investigation had begun.



FBI Director James Comey before the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence on Tuesday. PHOTO: JOSHUA ROBERTS/REUTERS

CNN first reported that officials had given the allegations to Mr. Trump.

"The story as presented by CNN lacks any accuracy and is yet another attempt to discredit Mr. Trump's landslide victory in this election," said Mr. Cohen, executive vice president of the Trump Organization and special counsel to the president-elect.

Mr. Trump won the electoral college but lost the popular vote to Mrs. Clinton.

Mr. Cohen said that there is “zero truth” to the idea that there has been any relationship between the Trump Organization and the Russian government or any ongoing communications during the campaign between the Trump campaign and Russian affiliates.

A Russian official who was alleged to have met with Mr. Cohen in Prague, Oleg Solodukhin, also denied any such meeting took place, calling the report “some kind of misunderstanding.”

House Intelligence Committee Chairman Devin Nunes (R., Calif.) said that he hadn’t seen the memos and that they hadn’t been discussed in a briefing on Tuesday for the heads of the intelligence committees and top lawmakers from the House and Senate, the so-called Gang of Eight.

“It should not be a surprise to anyone that the Russians are always looking for dirt on any politician,” he said. “That wouldn’t be news.”

Asked how damaging the implications could be to Mr. Trump, Mr. Nunes said. “I would not jump to any conclusions here. This seems maybe taken a little out of context.”

Mr. Nunes is one of the lawmakers working with Mr. Trump’s transition team.

Lt. Gen. Michael Flynn and K.T. McFarland, Mr. Trump’s picks for national security adviser and deputy national security adviser respectively, declined to comment on the reports.

The memos appear to have been a subject of interest in Congress since last fall. In an Oct. 30 letter, then-Senate Minority Leader Harry Reid (D., Nev.) wrote to Mr. Comey accusing him of “a disturbing double standard for the treatment of sensitive information.”

Mr. Reid wrote that Mr. Comey had publicized any potentially damaging information about Hillary Clinton, while behaving very differently regarding Mr. Trump.

“You possess explosive information about close ties and coordination between Donald Trump, his top advisors, and the Russian government,” Mr. Reid wrote. “The public has a right to know this information. I wrote to you months ago calling for this information to be released to the public.”

Asked to comment on the revelation of the memos, a representative of Mr. Reid said his “letters and statements speak for themselves.”

On Sunday, Sen. Lindsey Graham (R., S.C.) suggested in a television appearance that the U.S. government was probing whether or not Russian operatives coordinated with people linked to U.S. political campaigns.

Asked on NBC’s Meet The Press whether there was such an investigation, Mr. Graham replied: “I believe that it’s happening. But you need to talk to them because I don’t want to speak for them.”

—*Alexandra Berzon, Kristina Peterson and Carol Lee contributed to this article.*

**Write to** Shane Harris at [share.harris@wsj.com](mailto:share.harris@wsj.com), Devlin Barrett at [devlin.barrett@wsj.com](mailto:devlin.barrett@wsj.com) and Alan Cullison at [alan.cullison@wsj.com](mailto:alan.cullison@wsj.com)

**Corrections & Amplifications:**

A photo of Donald Trump in Trump Tower was taken Monday, Jan. 9. An earlier caption incorrectly said it was taken Sunday. (Jan. 10, 2017)

*Appeared in the January 11, 2017, print edition as 'Spy Agencies Probe Trump, Russia Dossier.'*

# Former British Spy Gathered Unsubstantiated Intel on Trump, Officials Say

By BRIAN ROSSMATTHEW MOSKPATRICK REEVELL  
Jan 11, 2017, 6:19 PM ET

Don Emmertdon/AFP/Getty Images

## WATCH | Officials Confirm British Spy Behind Trump-Russia Allegations

The explosive but unproven allegations about President-elect Donald Trump and his purported ties to Russia originated with the work of a respected former British spy who was hired by Democratic operatives and who began sharing his findings last August, federal officials confirmed to ABC News.

One of those who eventually received a copy of the spy's secret report was Republican Sen. John McCain, who confirmed Wednesday he gave copies to the FBI director after receiving them last month.

"I did what any citizen should do," McCain said in an interview. "I received sensitive information and then I handed it over to the proper agency of government and had nothing else to do with the issue. I don't know if it's credible or not. But the information, I thought, deserved to be delivered to the FBI, the appropriate agency of government."

The allegations were incendiary -- that Trump had been secretly filmed in a luxury Moscow hotel and was compromised by the Russian government, and that aides to Trump on at least two occasions over the summer of 2016 held secret meetings with Russian government agents. The details became grist for a top secret security briefing to both President Obama and Trump last week. A senior intelligence official told ABC News the briefers walked through the allegations with Trump.

The man who gathered the information had a serious pedigree in intelligence circles – a retired British spy who later helped found a private intelligence firm. He had been stationed in Russia for years.

Trump opened his first press conference in six months Wednesday by blasting the contents of the report.

"For all the talk lately about fake news, this political witch hunt by some in the media is based on some of the most flimsy reporting and is frankly shameful and disgraceful," he said.

While much of the material in the report is virtually impossible to prove or disprove, ABC News has for months been investigating the allegations and discovered serious flaws in the information.

The memos claim Trump lawyer Michael Cohen was part of an "ongoing secret liaison relationship" with the Russians and met with them "in Prague in August 2016."

But Cohen told ABC News and his boss he has never been in Prague.

"He brings his passport to my office," Trump recounted. "I say, 'Hey, wait a minute.' He didn't leave the country."

The report given to the FBI also claims that Cohen's father-in-law was "a leading Moscow property developer" close to Putin.

But ABC News went to the address linked to the property developer in Moscow identified in the report as Cohen's father in law. A tenant at the luxury Moscow residence put ABC News in contact with the owner, who said emphatically that he had no connection to Cohen. He was reached at an Eastern European phone number. Cohen's father in law divides his time between New York and Florida.

Other allegations from the Democratic researchers revolve around Trump's travel to Moscow for a Miss Universe contest in 2013, and whether the Russians filmed him with prostitutes "to be able to blackmail him if they so wished."

Trump denied that today, saying he knows how to avoid Russia's spy tricks.

"I told many people, be careful, because you don't want to see yourself on television, cameras all over the place," Trump said, adding a parting reference to the most graphic elements of the claims about him. "I'm also very much of a germophobe, by the way, believe me."

*Reevell reported from Moscow.*